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A D D R E S S

TO THE

Jacobine *and other* Patriotic Societies

OF THE

F R E N C H;

URGING THE

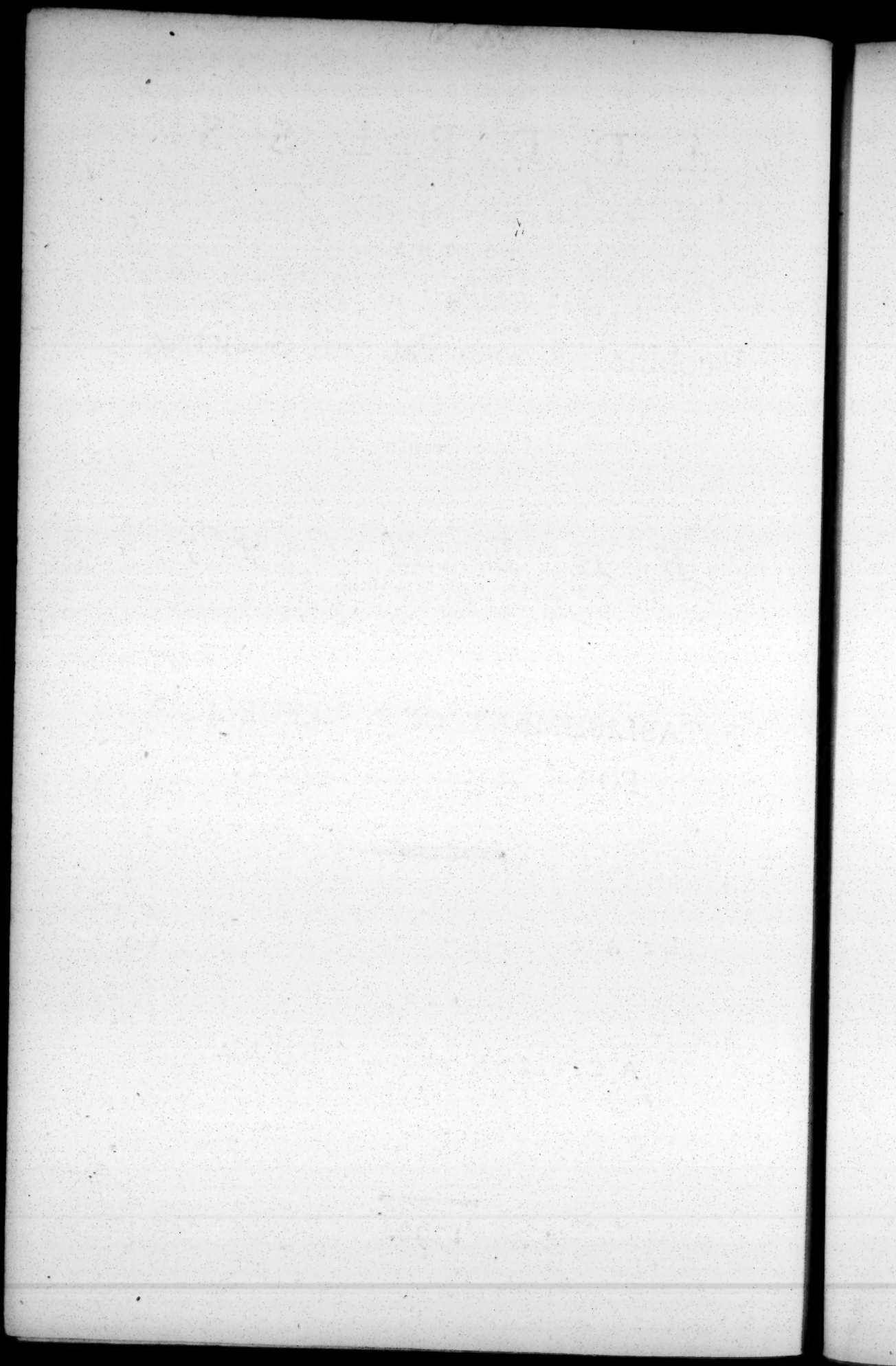
ESTABLISHMENT OF A REPUBLICAN
FORM OF GOVERNMENT.

BY A NATIVE OF ENGLAND,

AND

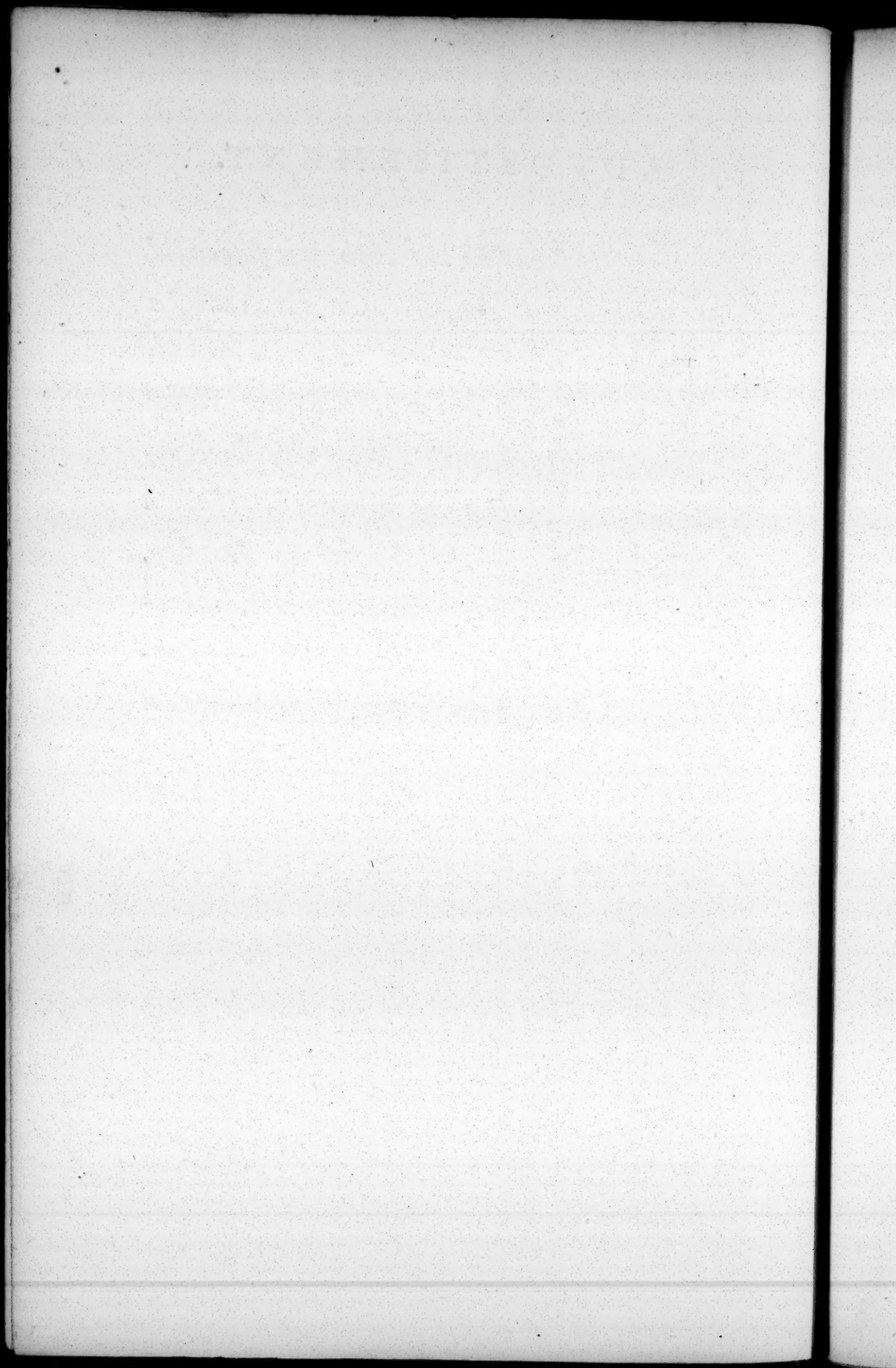
A CITIZEN OF THE WORLD.

1792.



ADVERTISEMENT.

LEWIS the 16th was suspended on the 10th of August. On the 11th, a Member of the National Assembly moved, "That a Governor of the Prince Royal should be appointed." From this Circumstance, the Author apprehended, that a Spirit, strong in the Interest of Royalty, was still prevalent in France. He, therefore, wrote the following Address.—Subsequent Events have seemingly proved, that his Apprehensions were wrong—But he still flatters himself, that his Effort may not be superfluous. The faintest Voice adds something to a general Cry—And Powerful is the Language of every Mind, the Purity of whose Motives cannot be doubted, whose Enquiries can have been directed by no local Interests, and whose Zeal can have no other Stimulant, than the general Happiness of Mankind.



ADDRESS, &c.

C H A P. I.

FELLOW CITIZENS OF THE WORLD:

T H E Spirit of Philosophy and Heroism has at length raised you to the grandest Opportunity ever enjoyed by Mankind—Seize and improve it, and convince the Human Race, that to banish Kings and Courts, is to extirpate the most destroying Pestilence that ever desolated the Universe. You cannot doubt this Truth. The last sufferings of a thousand Years Torture are now convincing you. Louis the 16th, emulating his Forefathers, has filled and finished his Day with Perfidy and Blood. He is still before your Eyes a monstrous Figure in that hateful Pageantry which has displayed all the possible varieties of Royal Folly and Wickedness : Nay, though you have dispersed the voracious and insatiable Herd which followed his Steps, and joined

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in his Devastations, their Howl is not silenced: They are yet heard at a distance, marking out thousands of your best Citizens for the Scaffold, and menacing your Millions with all the Woes of their old Tyranny, and with the new havock of Vengeance and interrupted Appetite. The boisterous Hero of Brunswick, having placed himself at the Head of Priests, Pimps, Parasites, Strumpets, Princes, and all the vagrant Train of a routed Court, is marching forward to re-establish the Empire of Riot, Waste, Wantonness, Injustice, Profligacy, Plunder, and Assassination, upon the Ruins of Paris, deluged by the Blood of its Citizens. The passing Moment is exhibiting these Characters of Royalty, or of that Prodigy in Evil to the Sport and Riot of whose Excesses, you have been subject for ten Hundred Years. But it is not one destroying Swarm that has thus consumed the very Pith and Marrow of your Existence: Your Blood and Treasure have fattened the Vermin of Foreign Courts. Every Country has some awful Story to tell of their worst Men, confederated in Schemes
of

of Wickedness with your Kings and Oppressors. Where have they not fostered the most perfidious Intrigues? Where have they not fomented the most horrid Wars? In short, your own Annals, and those of all Europe, speak but one Language—that French Courts have been the Worst of all Courts—and that of the whole Host of Royal Plagues yours has been the most calamitous and destructive. The Ruins of your Prisons, what are they but Vestiges of your Kings in the Plenitude of their Grandeur, or of enthroned Brutality, in the Days of its greatest Indulgence and Triumph? The vast Circumference of your Aristocratical Domains, what are they but the ample Measure of Monarchial Profusion, squandering upon its Creatures the Property of the People? Have you ceased to tremble, and totter, under Debts imposed by your Kings? Have you peopled the Deserts, which their Wars have spread over your Country? or, when you see the Palaces they have raised—or the Hunting Forests, from which their Sport has driven the Spirit of Agriculture, and the consequent Life

of Thousands—when, moreover, this enormous Waste has reduced near 20 Millions of your Citizens so as scarcely to earn a Meal by their Labour.—With all these Evidences of his voracious Appetites before your Eyes, will you keep the Monster? The Eggs of the devouring Brood are in your Hands, will you still expect to hatch from them any thing that is not poisonous and fatal?

C H A P. II.

Y O U R Constituent Assembly knew all that you have suffered, and well, very well knew the Cause. The History of the World was before them, and in the History of Kings they could see but one common Picture of what was delineated more strongly in the Records of France. Yet in Defiance of all Probability, they hoped to change the Tygers into Lambs. They sagely expected, that a carnivorous Kind, which had fed on Blood and Plunder from their earliest Appearance in savage Life, might

might be continued in their old Dens, and yet cease to devour.

To gratify their wild Expectation of effecting Impossibilities, your Constituent Assembly began with violating boldly, and immediately after they made it, their own Declaration of Rights. It is one of ITS first ARTICLES, that all Men are born equal; and it is one of THEIR first DECREES, that one Man by Birth is above all the rest, or that he his born with Rights belonging to none but himself. Now had the God of Nature designed what your Assembly decreed—Had he intended that the Power of ruling Thirty Millions of Men should belong to one Family, he would most probably have fixed some expressive Mark on Lewis the 16th and his Progeny: And as he has done in other Instances, he would, by some extraordinary Appearance, have distinguished the King Bee of his Hive.

I was at Paris during the first Moment of your Revolution—I saw you burst from your Chains—and from the Intelligence and Magnanimity of your first Proceedings, anticipated great Events to Mankind—The

tumbling Edifices of Superstitions and feudal Tyranny declared the proper Antipathies of your Minds—and when I saw the Pillars shaken, I hoped that the great Mass itself would soon fall to the Ground — When Tythes, Game Laws, &c. were demolished, though Monarchy was still alive, I yet enjoyed its Convulsions as Symptoms of approaching Death—Your motley Legislators, however, made up of Shreds and Patches, of Priests and Nobles, and new Patriots, came in as Physicians, they swore the Animal was useful, and that he would never bite or kick when he had once been purged by their Medicines, and placed under their Regulations. You have Reason to rue this Quackery and Presumption. The Devourer recovered his Strength. His Doctors became fond of him—and in their future Labours they scarcely thought of any thing but him. For to your whole Constitution what has given its Character, but the supposed Necessity and the consequent Dread of a King, whom they placed at its Head?—In this intricate Complication of Movements and Forces—In this System of Checks—In this
Chaos

Chaos of contending Jealousies, if you put your Finger on each One out of unnumbered Decrees, and ask, Why is this made? You are answered, “ We feared the Court. “ We have empowered a King to corrupt “ us, and we must not trust ourselves. “ There are Men, likewise, who wish to “ be near him, for the Sake of his Pleasures and his Purse ; and if such Decrees “ are not passed, these Men will buy us.”— But say that you have no King, no Court, no rich Places, and who is to buy you? Make your Government as cheap as it ought to be, and as it may be, and you have nothing to watch, nothing to fear, no Bone to quarrel about. Amongst yourselves, the Trade of governing will be at an End, and with the Trade away goes the Mystery— Every requisite of Government will appear simple, and you will stand astonished, that the World has been so long desolated by so contemptible a Craft.

C H A P. III.

I MUST confess to you, that when I heard the Constituent Assembly begin their career with *declaring*, and *contradicting*; with establishing Monarchy, and yet with Pretensions, high sounding, in Favour of Liberty, I fully expected that the Struggles of the Day would end with the Attainment of a Phantom, or with the Exchange of a CORRUPT for a VIOLENT Tyrant.—When you had proceeded with the Work of your Constitution for near two Years, I conversed with several Members of your Society, and found no Relief to my first Apprehensions. In Defiance of the most splendid Parts of History, you urged the Necessity of Kings for extensive Nations——You acknowledged them to be dreadful Nuisances, and though you were shocked at the daring Corruption with which your Court had begun its Career, yet Perjury and a most impious Renun-

Renunciation of all that was awful in Promise and Profession, did not wean you from the Partiality you felt for your dangerous Bawble —— Selfishness mixed with and strengthened the Fondness of your Constituent Assembly, and they forced you all to swear, that whatever Calamities your King heaped upon you, whatever Evidences you might have of his Corruption or Perfidy, you should, notwithstanding, keep him and obey him for many Years.

During this Interval of Rest and passive Obedience on the Part of the People, not one Power favourable to a thriving Despotism was withheld from their Tyrant—His Means were exorbitant—His Situation the best possible—His Circumstances those of the most inviolable Security.—He had Money enough to corrupt you—He had Time enough to carry on his Plans—He was the Controller of all your Laws—The Director of all your Powers—And with these terrible Arms in his Hands, he was placed where he could best serve his own Friends, and your determined Enemies.—He still loves his Brothers, his Cousins, and
his

his former Favourites—But what could his Head, or Hands do for them at Coblentz ? What could he not do for them at Paris ?—He could disunite you—He could tell them all your Plans —He could stop or embarrass every wise Decree of your Representatives—He could starve and wither your Armies—And he could counteract your Generals.—Millions might stand up in your Favour—but vested with the Omnipotence decreed by your Constituent Assembly, he might blast all your Efforts, and give you up to the Havock of your Foes.—You have Reason to thank God, that your Court had more Wickedness than Wisdom—For a larger Portion of Art in their Characters—A winning Spirit of Compliance in small but showy Things—Patience in their dark Proceedings—A few Lessons from the Treasury of England concerning the Management of Senates—A Plan for doing in Seven, what they have wished to accomplish in one Year, and a Series of Measures directed by such a System, would have blinded the Multitude, and foiled the discerning Few. The French Nation would have been managed

naged completely, and, like the English, you would have had the Boast of a glorious Constitution in Speculation, and the Disgrace of being really enslaved by Intrigue and Corruption. You have Reason, I say, to thank God for the Madness of your Court—Violence is an admirable Quality in a dangerous Enemy. It has been the Character of your Tyrants. They have, therefore, acted so as to be understood by all, and at length you have opened your eyes, I hope, never to shut them again.

C H A P. IV.

W H E N you experienced your earliest Apprehensions of the Intrigues of your Court, and the Powers vested in it by the Constituent Assembly, several of your Patriotic Clubs expressed their Fears, and applied for Advice to one of the most eminent Political Characters in England. The Directories They described as particular Objects of their Terror, in whose Establishment

ment they expected, that of so many distinct Tyrannies, as soon as the first Vigilance and Zeal of the Revolution began to slumber. I was present when these Letters were read; and this was the Language they called forth :

“ Let the French take away their Court,
 “ and all their Danger is dissipated. Let
 “ them withdraw the Million that will cer-
 “ tainly be employed to corrupt their Repre-
 “ sentatives, and they will have a pure Body
 “ of Legislators, who will always correct
 “ subordinate Evils. But every inferior
 “ Tyranny is formidable, when there is a
 “ King to take the lead ; for, depend upon
 “ it, that he will have a common Interest,
 “ with all that resemble and support his
 “ Character.”——It appears to me, that
 the late History of your Directories has
 sufficiently verified this Observation.

It was the strange Idea of some in your
 Constituent Assembly, that a King of Wood,
 or of Wax, might do for the Throne of
 France, and that such a King was the
 Monarch they had established.——What !
 can that Composition of Feelings, Appe-
 tites,

tites, and Passions, which form the Human Being, be vested with Royal Prerogatives, and bear no Character? Can Man be placed in Circumstances the most stimulating to Pride, Ambition, and Avarice—the most seducing to brutal Propensity, and the most unfavourable to every natural Talent and Virtue, and yet continue a Nothing? Is there one harmless Nothing to be found in the whole Catalogue of Dead or of living Kings? or, if you take out of the Swarm, all those who are declared Fools, open Rogues, and deluded and vicious Devotees, how few will remain to justify the Hopes of the Constituent Assembly?

It was the Language of your Legislators,
 “ We will establish sure Means, and such
 “ as were never used before, for making our
 “ Kings innocent at least, perhaps worthy.
 “ We will ourselves appoint a Governor,
 “ who will teach them all that is right.”
 Then the Happiness of the Nation is to depend upon the Governor, who is sagely expected to be perfect, whatever Intrigues his Passions may be exposed to from the Men and the Women of a
 corrupt

corrupt Court. The Parents, likewise, are sagely supposed to have no Influence; and to make the King a compleat Monster, you forbid him the Exercise of all domestic Care and Affection. But if the Governor is to do so much, or if that Prodigy of Virtue and Wisdom can be found, who is qualified to do, what was never done before, or to make a good King, why take two Steps, when one only is necessary—or, why not make the Governor himself, King?

Now, had you selected a Family from all the Families of the Earth, to supply you with Royal Masters, nothing appears to me more extravagant, from a View of every Obstruction arising from the Court, the Parents, the Dangers of the Governor, and the probable Defects, of the Prince, than the Possibility of rearing a King so as to be a harmless Character. But this was not the Case with your Constituent Assembly: They made no Selection, but thought their Purposes would be answered by a Stalk of the most poisonous Trunk that ever grew on the Earth. They expected to form a perfect Innocent in the vilest and most profligate

fligate Court that ever disgraced the Annals of Mankind. The Son of Marie Antoinette was to be changed into a Favourite of the People. The first Cousin of every Conspirator in the Royal Concert of Kings was to become the Cato or the Aufides of France!

But let us allow that you could mould your Kings into mere Men of Wax. Still the worst Curse of Monarchy would flourish with full Domination. Have a King, and you must have a Court. Have a Court, and you must have a profligate Aristocracy; pampered by all that there is in Royal Luxury to debase the Character, and to hatch Poisons for the Infection of your Metropolis, and thence of your whole Community. But the happy Moments are now passing—The glorious Power is in your Hands—Free yourselves from an Influence more pestilential and destructive than the worst Plagues of Ægypt—You hate Slavery to no Purpose—if it beget not the Hatred of all Kings and Courts.

C H A P. V.

IT will be asked, But how is the Executive Power to be managed—and to whom is it to be confided? I will answer, that if you look for Parade and Magnificence, restore it to your King, and he will spend your money most gorgeously. If you wish for a new Aristocracy, restore their Power to your Kings, for they *will* have Courts, and Courts will soon collect into one Spot, and then transform into one Character all the rich Men of your Land. If you wish for bad Manners, extravagant Fashions, Profligacy, and whatever there is in Vice, to distress a Community, let Royalty take the Lead. For its Wives, its Brothers, its Cousins, its Favourites, its Creatures, and ITSELF, will have nothing to do, but to be wicked, to give you an Example of Excess, and then to spread that Excess, by selecting, for its Companions in Power and Office, those who are its Companions in Waste, Peculation, Prostitution, and Adultery.

If

If, moreover, you look for a Government that will grow worse, and that will certainly in a few Years degenerate into something execrable, by all Means chuse a King. Degeneracy in every respect is the essential of Royalty, and of every Thing that belongs to it—surrounded as it is by Men who are Favourites only in Proportion to their Invention of new Crimes, new Indulgences, new Poisons for the Court, and new Plagues for the Nation. The last Race of Kings in Europe were degenerating fast into a Race of Fools. The present is a contemptible Set of Idiots. Francis the First of Austria is famous for leading Processions, and kissing Relicts. The Successor of Frederic falls asleep with a full Stomach on the Lap of his Mistress, and then sees Visions. The House of Orange seems to have concentrated all the DULLNESS, as well as the POWER, of the Nation into its own Family. What the House of Hanover has at length produced, the English can testify—and you have before your Eyes the setting Brightness of the House of Bourbon. Nature is kind in making the Situation of Kings so favourable to the Production of

Fools—for nothing could be more terrible to Mankind than the frequent Union of Talents with the growing Wickedness of a Throne.

It may be here said, perhaps, that a Degeneracy in the Character of Kings is not necessarily followed by a Degeneracy in the Character of their Governments. *Then it follows, that* powerful Causes may exist in Circumstances the most favourable to their Energy, and yet produce no Effects. A Multitude of unforeseen Exigencies and Events, requiring the immediate Exercise of discretionary Power, are continually occurring in a great Kingdom. All these are so many Opportunities propitious to the Increase of every constituted Power; which Opportunities will frequently take place during those Intervals of Torpor and Sleep, to which all Communities are subject; and while the Inclinations of the King stand ready to grasp and accumulate, he will never want auxiliary Parties, whose wicked Interest will co-operate with his own. Experience proves that Constitutional Checks can only retard the Evil; and you may rest assured, that your Court, if established, in a very few
Years,

Years, will manage your Biennial Representatives with as much Ease as we manage our Septennial Hirelings in England. Under a firm Conviction of what I have urged, the Tools of our Court are at this Moment loud in execrating the Impatience of your King and his Junto. “ Had he taken a little Time (say they) he would have discovered the right System; he would have hit upon the effectual Method of buying what he wanted. The Nation had given him Money enough; and, with a little Skill, every necessary Power might have been his own.”

Besides, where has the Monarchy yet existed which has not changed its Character in a very few Years, and which would not continue till the very Vitals of the People were consumed, if its Prodigality did not grow faster than its Power—In what former Reigns of your Kings could half the Money be raised, which Louis the 15th and 16th have squandered upon their Wars and Favourites—Or would you now have been free, if your present Court had been contented with ten Times the Tax which satisfied preceding Tyrants?

Soon after our Revolution in England, a Profusion of Three or Four Millions would have provoked a Civil War—But George III. has squandered 140 Millions Sterling—He has lost Thirteen Colonies—He has more than doubled our Taxes and our Poor; and yet, because the Power of Corruption has kept Pace with his Prodigality, he is more absolute than ever; and even the younger Branches of his Family can spend more with Impunity, than would have satisfied the most voracious of the Stuarts or their Predecessors—What presuming Folly then was it in your Constituent Assembly, to expect the Atchievement of that which the whole Experience of Mankind proved to be impossible; and more particularly the Experience of that very Constitution, whose Character they were eager to copy.

Once more. Let me ask you, Whether you wish for the Reign of Poverty in your lower Orders, and of enormous Wealth in your higher Orders; of Luxury amongst the Few, and of Misery amongst Millions? Then restore your old, or establish a new King—Place him at the Head of a Court, and near the delusive Splendour of his Palace,

lace, you will raise an overgrown Metropolis, which will starve the Extremities of the Kingdom to support its Luxuries and Pleasures. Let the Example of England warn you, whose Pride is, at this Moment, inflated by the increasing Magnitude of a Metropolis, which, in time, will certainly eat up our whole Country. Its present Consumption is dreadful. The Income of above Half the Landed Property of the Kingdom is spent in it—So, likewise, is all the Wealth that comes from the East and West Indies, all that the Gentry and Aristocracy of Ireland can squeeze out of their oppressed Country; nor does the Barrenness of Scotland refuse near the Half of its Produce to our Metropolis—Be it added, that in London, the Nursery of all that is foolish, excessive, and profligate, the Fortunes of our wealthiest Tradesmen are squandered; and our Manufacturers in the Country, likewise, are no sooner rich, than they hasten to unite in, or to imitate the Prodigality of the Court—In short, whoever thrives under the partial Liberty we enjoy, mixes precipitately with the Crowd which riot at St. James's and Carleton-House. A Monarchy will pro-

duce the very same Evils in France—The Communication of the Kingdom, with the Luxuries of your Court, will be increased by the perpetual Intercourse of your Representatives, who will be seduced by its Splendours, and will imbibe its Follies ; and the Power of your Metropolis to corrupt and desolate will be great, in Proportion to the extensive Greatness of your Kingdom. General Washington is now laying down the first Stones of a Royal Palace—He is building a Federate City. What he calls the Seat of Power, will, in a few Years, become the Seat of Luxury, or the Nursery of those Evils which begin with the Depravity, and end with the Slavery and Misery of the whole Nation. This great Man has now been King four Years—I wish he may not be infected by the Passions belonging to his Office—The Period of his Reign has been much too long for the Security of his Virtue—He certainly does not despise the show of a Court, for he is taking the most effectual Means to establish and spread its Influence.

C H A P. VI.

I HAVE now enumerated a few of the several Effects that must inevitably follow, if you restore your King, or if you vest any ONE MAN with the Executive Power. Do not then suppose that you finish your Work, when you dethrone Louis 16th, or that you ensure Liberty to Posterity, when you confer the Government on his Son. If this be your Remedy, the Necessity of purging the Thuilleries will soon recur; for while the Office lives, the Race of Tyrants will never die. To him then that asks you, Where is the Executive Power to be placed? Let this be your Answer, “ We know cer-
 “ tainly where it ought not to be placed;
 “ and if we err again, we cannot do so
 “ much mischief as we did before—We
 “ will have something that we can change,
 “ without the Effusion of Blood, or the
 “ Danger of a Civil War—We will have
 “ nothing permanent, but that which Ex-
 “ perience proves to be good. The Civil
 “ List is annihilated, and our National Con-

“ vention will at least be pure: And if they
 “ abolish Monarchy, by REMOVING THE
 “ WORST OF ALL POSSIBLE THINGS,
 “ They will remove the greatest of all Ob-
 “ structions to political Improvement.”

To this general Answer to the proposed Difficulty of managing the Executive Power, may I think be added, the Recommendation of a more specific Measure—Let your National Assembly be chosen for a Year only, and do not be afraid of giving it too much Power. The Nomination of your various Ministers of State cannot injure a Legislative Body, who, at the End of Twelve Months, give up their Place, mix again with the People, and become subject to their own Decrees.

No Application of Money, no Execution of Laws, can be managed better than under the Controul of such an Assembly, or a Committee selected from it, provided that Committee be rendered changeable, by the Addition of a certain Number of new Members every Month. Your Representatives, congregated from all Parts of a large Kingdom, cannot possibly be seduced by any particular Interest of their own into
 Cabal

Cabal and Intrigue—Even a rich Court could hardly make it worth their while to be unfaithful for so short Time. But when there is no Court, I know not what is to corrupt them.

It appears to me, that the great Object to be aimed at in forming a Constitution is this——To make it in its several Parts changeable, but as one whole, firm, and permanent. The System of the human Body will explain my Meaning—All our Fluids and Solids are continually dissipating, but continually succeeded by new integrant Parts. The Body is, notwithstanding, still the same, nay, its Strength, Activity, and Health depend upon its incessant Changes; for when any Part is stopped in any Place, Disease and Corruption are sure to follow.

Whether you could establish a Rotation in your high Offices of State, I know not —The Object deserves your Consideration —The successful Example of the Roman State may instruct you—Nor should you be without Apprehension from the Resemblance of a Court, in case your first Officers and their Connections and Dependents should always reside near your Representative

tive Assembly—Certain I am, that a great Reduction of their Parade and Power may take Place without Danger to the State; and that your public Concerns may be very well managed, without bestowing so much Consequence to your Servants as will render them at all formidable.

It is observed with Truth, that the essential Movements of the English Government are altogether guided by a few subordinate Secretaries; and if these Men were removed, so little would be known by those who are the ostensible Men, and who enjoy the vast Honours and Emoluments of the State, that the whole Machine would become inactive. Indeed, if the Intrigues of the House of Commons, and of the corrupt Boroughs which chuse it; if such a dexterous Disposal of all Places in the Army, the Navy, the Church, the Custom-House, the Excise-Office, the India Company, &c. &c. as may best serve the ruling Faction, be a Part of Government, then what I have said is not true; For such Purposes, a very complicate System must be adopted; a large Portion of Craft is necessary; and an honest Man is, of all others, the most unqualified for

for the Business—He succeeds best, who has most of the Hypocrite in his Character—And hence we learn, why Mr. Pitt is the most powerful and prosperous Minister that ever lived.

C H A P. VII.

I TRUST that you have Philosophy enough in your Nation to perceive, that the sole End of Government is Protection, and that Rulers and Legislators must continue to be mischievous, while they direct their Attention to other Objects—Your Constituent Assembly was too much possessed by this Spirit of Impertinence and Usurpation—They have pretended to foster Trade by the monopolizing Restraints of a Navigation Act—They have planned Systems of Education, together with many other Systems, which, as Society improves, will be found to operate as so many Hindrances—The human Being, if left to himself, or if left to cultivate what the infinite Bounty of Nature has given him in a most ample Abundance, without any Molestation from
 Superiors

Superiors or Tyrants, will never fail to do well. Injury should prescribe the Limits of Law; and whenever the Legislator thinks of any Thing but the Repulsion of Injury, he violates his Duty, and becomes a Nuisance to Society.

It should then, I think, be your general Principle, to be as simple as possible, and to remember, that as the Circumstances of your Nation improve, as the Embarrassments accumulated by your old Government are gradually extirpated, as the Necessities imposed by an infernal System of War and Intrigue in foreign Courts, become less and less urgent, you may very much improve in the Simplicity and the consequent Ease of governing. Indeed, it is but a moderate Share of Justice and Humanity, dispersed amongst the several Individuals of a Nation that is requisite, to take away the Necessity of Law and Officers altogether. Let any one reputable Person judge from himself. Let him look to the History of his own Life, and he will not find the Moment in which Government was necessary to keep him in Order; consequently, if his own Character were that of all Individuals, THAT

VERY

VERY STATE of Society would take Place, in which Legislators and Rulers would have little or nothing to do. Perhaps this is the Case with Twenty-eight out of the Thirty Millions which people France at this Instant. Indeed, in every Country that Portion of Men is small, whose Violation of Property and Person have introduced the Necessity of Controul, and the consequent Usurpation of Tyranny.

But should all this be denied, and the Majority of Society, represented as naturally disposed to plunder and destroy, I am still not afraid to maintain, that the Evil proceeds from a most shameful Inequality, and that Aristocracy and Courts give Birth to those Excesses in the lower Order, which call for Law and Punishment from those who are their Superiors in POWER more than CHARACTER—When there are Thousands, perhaps Millions, in your Nation, who lose their next Meal, if Sicknefs, or a Dearth of Opportunity interrupts their Labour——When the perpetual Provocations of Want are thus urging War against the general Peace—When Nature itself inflames in Man the Ferocity of a hungry wild Beast, then, indeed,

indeed, the Power that controuls must be great—Chains and Prisons become necessary, and the STRENGTH of your RULERS must grow with the MISERY and WANTS of the MULTITUDE. But, suppose the Sum of Three Hundred Millions Sterling, which the Wars of two Reigns only have cost you, had been employed in peopling and cultivating your Waste Lands—Or, suppose the Hunting Forests of your Princes had been let out in small Leases to your distressed Peasants—Or, suppose that, instead of 19-20ths, only Half the Produce of your Lands had been consumed by the Pleasures of your Nobility, and the rest enjoyed by the Labourer—Such a State of Society must have taken Place, even from this partial Diffusion of good, as the Minds of Men, like yourselves, cannot conceive of; I say like yourselves, for your Views must be those of a Nation immersed in the Dregs and Darknes of a Thousand Years Slavery. But you have a numerous Body of Sages and Philosophers amongst you—It is indeed a glorious Scene of Happiness, that must animate them to the wise and vigorous Direction of those Powers which you have now at your Disposal——

Give

Give them Confidence, and doubt not the Reality of those great Things which they hold forth to your Expectations—Liberty and Equality * ! They are the Attributes of an omnipotent Society—They imply Leisure and Opportunity to Thirty Millions of

* The Abettors of Tyranny in England, and other Countries, have an Interest in the Misinterpretation of the Word Equality, as it is now used by the French. They assert, that the Multitude expect a general Division of Property, or that an Agrarian Law will soon reduce all the French to a Level. The wealthier Members of Communities are thus reduced into a Dread of all Political Changes, and the avaricious Fears of Mankind are made the Advocates of Tyranny.

By Equality, the French mean only an Equality of Rights and Privileges; in other Words, that all French Citizens are equal in the Power of chusing their Representatives, and in the Capacity of being chosen. That no Difference of Rank is to sway the Decisions of public Justice, and that no Superiority is to be vested with Power, but that of Merit and Talents.

The Philosophical Legislators of France must perceive, that if their Constitution be good, a gradual Approximation to a general Equality must be its Consequence. They have already adopted very powerful Means for this Purpose; and, if they attend rigorously to the Law which divides the Property of every Parent amongst his several Children, the Bulk of large Fortunes and Estates will soon be reduced, and the most fertile Cause of Aristocracy exterminated.

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intellectual Beings——They imply Advantages to your vast Nation, which have hitherto been confined to a few only, in a few large Towns——They imply the Banishment of Luxury, the Exclusion of Want, and the peopling of your Deserts——They imply the Elevation of the Labourer into a Peasant, and of the Peasant into a Sage or a Philosopher. Who, seeing the general Wealth they produce, will not learn how amply bountiful, Nature has been to Man? And who seeing their powerful Influence in meliorating and raising the Character, will not testify, how partial Man naturally is to Virtue?

C H A P. VIII.

ATHENS was raised on a barren Rock, and was fed from Infancy to an Hour of Strength and Independence, by the Industry which enriched a small Surface of the surrounding Desert. Athens was partially free, and Equality was enjoyed by the eleventh Part only of its Inhabitants. Its Government was imperfect; it was disturbed

turbed by the Intrigues of neighbouring Monarchies, impoverished by frequent Wars, desolated by numerous Plagues, and frequently tormented by its own Disorders and Tumults; but 20,000 Freemen thus struggling and fighting, thus exposed to Alarms and Calamities, thus unquiet in the interrupted Enjoyment of Liberty, have furnished the World with all that is excellent in Art and Philosophy. The whole Produce of the World in intellectual Excellence and Greatness, is a Trifle compared to that of this single City. The Powers which were possessed in this Instance, are possessed by you in a greater Degree. The Equality of 20,000 amongst them, may be that of 30,000,000 amongst you—Their Famines cannot assail you, and their Plagues cannot desolate you—The Barrenness of their Soil is the Contrast of your Fertility; and the Greatness of your Power is a sure Protection against such Neighbours, as perpetually disturbed, and length utterly destroyed them. Be it added, that their Feuds and Animosities were the Consequence of a Government subject to the Passions of a Multitude—But you will govern by Representation—And

when the first Storms and Dangers of your Revolution are over, I trust you will govern with perfect Calmness and Tranquility—Remember, however, that with all these Circumstances of Superiority, you may, by one Variety, fall far below them—They had no KING, THEY had no COURT—They loathed the very Name of a Monarch—They watched his Appearance with a Jealousy that was frequently unjust—And they never failed to thrive during the Absence of this Pestilence.

Had one of the Bourbons lived within their Walls a Year, he would have swallowed the whole Sustenance of their Country. A single Payment of His Civil List would have purchased the Fee-simple of their Territories; nay, all that went to the Support of their Artists, to the Nurture of their Philosophers and Philosophic Schools, and to the Erection of those Edifices which are the Admiration and Instruction of the World, would not supply your Court with the Pleasures of a few Months; or with a Pension to satisfy one of the Prostitutes of your Kings, or the Favourites of your Queens.

C H A P. IX.

IT has, however, been urged, that the Splendour of Republics very soon vanishes ; but that the Glories of Monarchy are stable and permanent ; in other Words, that the HAPPINESS of Nations is fleeting, but that their CALAMITIES are durable. To shew that Monarchy is a LASTING Evil, is a curious Mode of defending it ; but the Falseness equals the Absurdity of this Defence—The Roman Republic proves, that the Powers of Man, when free, will go on for Centuries, adding one stupendous Display of Greatness to another. The Grecian States flourished a longer Time, and their History testifies, that the same Power of Liberty which enabled one Republic to conquer the World, when directed towards the Cultivation of Art and Science, is equally astonishing in its Effect. Nay, it is probable that they would have advanced in the vast Progress of intellectual Improvement to the present Day, if, instead of being several, they had formed one Commonwealth, united

by a common Interest, and governed by a general Representation. Their combined Powers would have stopped the Inundations of neighbouring Tyrannies—Nor would the martial Prowess of Rome have finished the Ruins which others had begun. But why should you appeal to these remote Instances? You have, almost within your Sight, a small Republic, which has afforded Happiness to Thousands, on a snowy Surface of Craggs, for near Twelve Hundred Years.—The free Citizens of St. Marino, surrounded by Precipices, have defied the Invasions of every neighbouring Potentate; and they are thus preserved as an Evidence, that where there are no Wars, no Kings to corrupt, divide, and destroy, good Governments are always lasting—Their Representatives are chosen frequently, and their Executive Power IS CHANGED EVERY SIX WEEKS. In short, they are raised on high, to give the Advocates of Monarchy the Lie; and to tell you what is possible, if you hate Military Carnage, and take Care that the Power which governs shall never engender Corruption, by RESTING LONG IN THE SAME HANDS. Let it be recollected, that on a few Miles of
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barren Surface, bounded by the Ice, and chilled by the Winds that blow over it, their Inhabitants are more numerous than those which the Area of a Thousand Leagues spread below them, and forming the most fertile Country in the World, has produced under the blasting Influence of Monarchies—Nay, the Fifty Millions of enlightened Citizens, which even the Martial Republic of former Times had nourished in these exuberant Regions, are now, by a destroying Confederacy of Nobles, Priests, and Kings, reduced to a few Thousand Wretches and Assassins. Who will deny, that the Glories of Monarchy are of a lasting Nature, when it impresses such Marks of its tremendous Greatness? or, who does not see that it is always enthroned amidst increasing Ruins and spreading Deserts?—To those, however, who maintain, that the Governments of Kings are always stable and permanent, in Opposition to the Restlessness of Republics—It may be answered, that the NAME, indeed, continues unaltered for Centuries—But that of all versatile Things, the Character of a Court and its Measures is the most capricious and inconstant. Every new

Minister is a Tyrant of a new Construction ; and every distinct Reign displays some new Variety of Woes and Calamities. While the same Individual continues on the Throne, he is perpetually shifting his Favourites ; and in all Countries, but more particularly in your own, the Government has altered not less frequently than the King's Appetites, which, when sated with one Mistress, have required the Provocatives of a new Strumpet before they could be gratified. Take the List of your Civil Wars and Persecutions, of your external Wars and Oppressions, and examine whether your Monarchy has been uniform in any Thing but a varied Contrivance of Means to harass and plunder, and desolate the People. But what is true of France, and of all the other Domains of Kings, is not less true of the English Monarchy—This famed Balance of Powers——This celebrated System of imaginary Checks—This theoretical Neutralization of unruly Forces, has, in Reality, displayed one continued Succession of Royal Inconstancies and Versatilities. It has been frequently observed, that so busily have our several Kings been employed in devouring
each

each other, or in worrying the People, till they have devoured them—That Four of the same Family have never yet reigned successively on the British Throne—For near Five Hundred Years our Country was incessantly the Prey of contending Nobles—An Empire might almost have been peopled by the Multitudes which perished on the Scaffold during our Civil Wars—In a single Reign, Sixty Thousand are said to have been dispatched by the Executioner alone—What must that Deluge be, which our Royal Masters have poured on the Field of Battle, or spilled by the Hands of the Assassin? The long Reigns of Murder and Carnage, which preceded the Time of the Tudors, do not speak less in Favour of the steady Tranquility belonging to our finely-balanced Monarchy, than the stormy Periods which followed. You well know the bloody and perfidious History of the Stuarts, their Wars, their Massacres, their own miserable Fortunes, and the SANGUINARY VENGEANCE WHICH MARKED THEIR RETURN TO POWER—The Revolution was by no Means the Commencement of Peace—Under our *glorious* Constitution, we have had, in the last

Century, three Civil Wars, and five or six Foreign Wars—Above Half the Time has been consumed in destroying, and the other Half in forming Plans for carrying on future Schemes of War with less Molestation—In short, our Court, under the Mask of Forms, and with the delusive Fascination of high-sounding Language concerning our *glorious* Constitution, have kept Pace in the Paths of Waste and Destruction with your wicked Court; but with Mischief infinitely greater, for it has loaded Eight Millions in this Northern Region with that Burthen, which is intolerable to Thirty Millions in your fertile Country. Yes, in truth, PERMANENCE DOES BELONG TO MONARCHIES, for we find, that our Taxes never change but for the worse, that our Debts are never lightened, that our Wars never cease, that our Corruption is still growing, and that the Reign of Squandering Favourites, and Hypocrites, is more absolute and extensive than ever. In delineating, however, the steady and permanent Mischiefs of Monarchy in France and England, we have given a Picture which suits, in its leading Features, all the Kings of Europe—Nor in the Contemplation of so durable

durable and dreadful a Calamity, can you doubt the Justice with which Philosophers have deplored over the actual, compared with the possible, State of this Quarter of the Globe.

“ Europe (say they) is peopled by Two
 “ Hundred Millions of Inhabitants, of
 “ which about 1-100th Part are rich, cor-
 “ rupt, luxurious, ignorant, and oppres-
 “ sive—A few Hundreds are Men of im-
 “ proved and exalted Minds—The rest are
 “ Wretches and Slaves.”

Europe (say they) is capable of support-
 ing, in the Exuberance of Enjoyment,
 above Two Thousand Millions of Inha-
 bitants, of whom there are but few who
 have not Faculties equal to those of our
 greatest Men——Millions of them at least
 might be raised, by moderate Leisure and
 Education, to look down upon the highest
 Philosophers of the present Day—But what
 might they not be when those future Ad-
 vantages prevail, which must arise from the
 Employment of an unnumbered Multitude,
 in hastening the Perfection of Art, and ex-
 tending the Boundaries of Science.—But
 Kings and Courts have ruled for Centuries
 —And

—And this Possibility is still looked to as the Dream of Speculatists—Our Rulers take away the Opportunities of Cultivation, and then scoff at the possible Bounties of Nature—They make the Desert, and then say that God ordered it—But let the first Nation in the World, be the first to declare War against these Blasphemers of Heaven's Benevolence, against these pestilential Harpies, who breathe Mildew, and blast the fair Countenance of the World.

C H A P. X.

AGAIN and again I urge you to remember, that under the Reign of Kings, the Good has always withered, and the Bad grown worse—The Multitude are Labourers and Slaves, and the Few are Profligates and Tyrants. Men of Letters are Flatterers and Sycophants; the Artist is the Tool of his Patron; and the brightest Efforts of Fancy are employed to hide or adorn the Monster which desolates Mankind—Under Republics, even indifferently formed, the most renowned

renowned Characters for Virtue, the greatest Philosophers, the most eminent Artists, and the most enlightened Multitudes, have always flourished——But your Republic may be far more perfect than any that have yet been established—You have but one Thing to keep in View—A Provision for the Adoption of Improvements, without the Danger of fatal Animosities. Experience will be abundant in its Discovery of new Things; and your happiest Power will be, that of returning fast from the Path of Error and Abuse, and of crushing nascent Tyrannies in their Infancy, before they have Strength to resist, and by their Resistance to shock the whole Community.

In Republics these Things are easy—In Monarchies impossible. The Factions of a King are always formidable, and can be destroyed by no other Means, than the PERILOUS STRUGGLE OF AN UNWEILDY MULTITUDE.

In Republics, a general Equality will soon discover the upstart Ambition of one or a few Individuals, who may be easily crushed,

crushed, when there are no hereditary Prejudices and Attachments to support them.

Besides, a National Convention of Representatives, which is now convoked for your Relief, may be always assembled with Expedition and Effect—But under the enlightening Influence of a Republic, each successive Convention will be distinguished by increased Wisdom and Virtue, and of course by greater Abilities to improve and perfect your Government——From your next you will gain every Thing you can wish for, if you gain the Exclusion of Monarchy; or, in other Words, if you chuse Deputies who do not resemble the Members of your Constituent Assembly in their Opinions and Prejudices. THEY were deluded by a Fondness for the *English Form*, which has never yet been tried by Experience; and while this Delusion continues, you will be always changing one refined System of Corruption for another. May this Truth be regarded as an Axiom by your new Legislators—That TYRANNY IS THE SURE OFFSPRING OF HEREDITARY OFFICE—That every Man, born in the privileged Circumstances of a Ruler, is born out of the Course

Course of Nature——His first Distinctions are a Violation of the Rights of Man—His Education is necessarily directed by Views and Expectations destructive to Character—And, sooner or later, his Ignorance or his Wickedness will punish the Folly which gave him his Power. — But what is peculiarly calamitous and execrable in EVERY HEREDITARY OFFICER, is eminently so in HEREDITARY KINGS AND GOVERNORS——They are generally the Produce of Debauchery and Impotence——They come into the World formed, diseased, and cursed by the Profligacy of their Royal Parents—Their Cradles are surrounded by Fawners and Sycophants — The first Language they hear, is that of Deceit; and the first Nourishment they take, is mixed with Poison to their Manners and Habits.

As they go on, through the various Scenes of a Royal Existence, what a Host of Powers, fatal to Character, invade them on all Sides—Their Servants indulge them, their Creatures flatter them, their Parents fill them with Prejudices, and multiplying Gratifications, subject them to the Tyranny
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of the most destructive Passions. Nor is it possible that any Infusion of Knowledge can mitigate their evil Properties, or check their sad Excesses——The Probabilities are great, that they are naturally weak, and *can* learn nothing ; but the Probabilities are much greater, that if they have Talents, they *will* learn nothing.—They have no Equals to stimulate their Emulation and Industry, and they have no Superiors to enforce Attention and Perseverance—They are secluded from

* Were I a Member of the National Convention, and were I asked, How I should dispose of the present King ?—My Answer would be regulated by the general Question : Whether Monarchy or a Republic is to be established ?—In case a Republic is to be established, an Example of Severity would answer no Purpose, as no similar Officer would succeed to derive Benefit from his Calamities. When stripped of his Royalty, I would consider Louis the 16th as too contemptible an Individual to gratify the Vengeance of a great People. Besides, during the War he is a valuable Hostage. During this Period, in which every Object will be estimated by the Folly and Prejudices of Tyranny and its idiot Adherents, Things the most insignificant in themselves, may become of Importance to you—It may happen, that the Existence of a valuable Officer, or a capital Patriot, or
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from the World and its Intercourse, and their Minds must be narrow and barren. — They are confined to the Society of a Court and its Minions; and how can their Minds be otherwise than bad and profligate?

What a Prodigy must a good Prince be, when thus born, reared, and educated—Or can it seem strange, that the WORST MEN in the World have been HEREDITARY PRINCES, and that three or four only of Thousands and Thousands would have escaped the Block, or the Gallows, if they had received their Deserts. While Circumstances continue the same, the Characters they produce will never vary—Consequently, while you have Kings by Birth-right, it will be Folly not to expect a Succession of the same Royal Enormities, which have hitherto disgraced and depopulated Mankind. May the Wisdom

of some City Obstinate in its Valour, may be secured, by making it the Price of Security to the Royal Family. But when the Season of Peace commences, the Descendant of the Bourbons should enjoy the Fate of Demetrius Poliorcetes—In some distant, but safe Enclosure, he should sport and fatten amongst his Stags—He should indulge all his natural Propensities, and display to your infant Republic the full Brutality of his Species.

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of your National Deputies save you from the Restoration of such Calamities—But if their Prejudices depress you once more under the Domination of King, or expose you again to the Perils of their OPEN Perjury and SECRET Treason, the Freedom you have struggled for is a Phantom only—It may be soon blown away by some successful Plot, or it may gradually vanish before the Breath of Intrigue and Corruption. If, however, by the Voice of your Convention, you shew yourselves worthy of a free and manly Commonwealth, the vast Good you obtain will be lasting, and the Evils you chase away will never appear again. That Moment of Greatness will soon be at Hand, in which the Wisdom and Virtue of your Exertions will be testified, by the Magnitude of every known Blessing, and by the Birth of unnumbered Blessings hitherto unfelt by Mankind.

The oppressed World calls upon you—
The Power is in your Hands—Give their Death Blow to the Desolators of God's Family—Overturn the Monarchies of the Earth. You have already shaken their Pillars—Already, you are the Terror of all
Courts

Courts and Courtiers—The very Sound of your Name strikes a Panic into their Hearts. From the Story of your Enterprizes and Victories, they fly as from a Recital big with Woe and Horror—They see a flaming Sword of Vengeance hang over their Heads, and they see the small Thread which suspends it—You have taught every injured Slave how easily it is cut through, and you have given the oppressed a Lesson of Instruction, most awful to their Oppressors—You have shewn the People their Strength, and you have proclaimed the Weakness of their Tyrants——Go on with the Cause of Mankind, and to the Example of bursting from your Chains; add the more seducing Example of multiplying in Numbers, and improving in Happiness, under the Government of a FREE and EQUAL REPUBLIC.

F I N I S.

